

*Bill Jile*

September 28, 1971

guards do not venture at night. Beatings, deaths, and suicides are frequent in the dormitories. Rape, robbery, and homosexuality are rampant, as marauding gangs and individuals pillage the dormitories and terrorize their fellow inmates.

Many prisoners would deeply understand the vivid description of penal life provided by the Russian novelist Dostoevsky, whose book "The House of the Dead," describes his devastating ordeal while imprisoned in Siberia.

If he died and awoke in hell, Dostoevsky reasoned, he would expect it to be no worse than life in prison. On his last night in jail, walking beside the fence that had confined him for 4 years, Dostoevsky concluded that on the whole the men there were no better and no worse than people generally. Among them were exceptionally strong and gifted people. The waste of their lives was an intolerable cruelty. From his experience in prison he defined man as "a creature that can become accustomed to anything."

We in America spend more than \$1 billion a year maintaining our archaic prison system. Ninety-five percent of all expenditures in the entire field of corrections in the United States goes for custody—iron bars, stone walls and guards—while only 5 percent goes for hope—health services, education, and developing employment skills.

As a consequence of the high rate of recidivism, the American taxpayer is grossly shortchanged in the investment of his tax dollar aimed at achieving criminal rehabilitation. In fact, if a private business had as poor a percentage of success and as high a level of cost as does our prison system, it would have difficulty surviving its first shareholders' meeting.

The American Correctional Association has estimated that it takes \$11,000 a year to keep a married man in prison. This figure is based on the inmate's loss of earnings, the cost of keeping him in prison—\$10.24 a day in Federal prisons and \$5.24 a day in State prisons—the cost to the taxpayer if his family has to go on relief and the loss of taxes he would pay.

Medical and dental facilities are sadly lacking in prisons. The result is that many prisoners lose their sense of dignity by being forced to live with debilitating physical problems. For example, many prisoners are badly in need of dental work, but few receive adequate attention in prison. Personalities are shaped by such factors as the loss of teeth. The lack of the most fundamental medical services is a significant part of the dehumanizing daily existence of prison life that results in brutalization.

Our prison system also suffers from a staggering need for increased psychiatric and educational personnel. There are only 50 full-time psychiatrists for all American prisons, 15 of them in Federal institutions which hold only 4 percent of all prisoners. In adult penal institutions, there is only one teacher available for every 150 inmates, although fewer than 5 percent of the inmates of Federal institutions function at a 12th-grade level, and one psychologist for 1,200 prisoners.

The acute lack of psychiatric and psychological personnel is particularly deplorable as studies have shown that most prisoners suffer from mental disturbances at the time they committed their crime.

Many ex-convicts revert to a life of crime because they have not received job training that would assist them in obtaining employment in the outside world. License plate and mop bucket manufacturing are two examples of prison vocations that bear little relation to potential jobs in private industry. Eighty-five percent of the inmates of Federal penal institutions lack any marketable skill when they leave prison.

Although much attention has been focused on the condition of our Federal and State prisons, a recent census of 4,037 local and county jails, conducted by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, revealed many problems that plague these institutions. Eighty-six percent of the county institutions or jails located in cities of 25,000 or greater population had no facilities whatsoever for exercise or recreation. Eighty percent lacked educational programs, while 26 percent were without visiting facilities. About 50 percent had no medical services. About 1.5 percent lacked toilets. In addition, 19,000 of the 98,000 cells in these jails were between 51 and 100 years old, and 5,416 of the cells were more than a century old.

The same survey also revealed that 52 percent of all inmates in city and county jails were held for reasons other than conviction of a crime. Almost all the inmates in this category were awaiting trial, many of them unable to raise the bail necessary for their release. The result is that prisoners who have not come to trial must sit idly, waiting months on end with no constructive activity available to them. During this purgatorial period of enforced idleness, they mingle with convicted criminals, often assimilating their views and lifestyles.

We have drawn an iron curtain in our minds, shutting out from our awareness the daily tragedy of life in America's prisons. Except when there are prison riots such as occurred at Attica, jail breaks or scandals, little thought, attention or concern is given to our correctional institutions and their inmates. It is time to recognize that repression is an inadequate substitute for rehabilitation. It is time the American people realized that punishment alone does not bring correction. We must awaken to the fact that the present system of criminal justice, in the words of the President's Violence Commission, "does not deter, does not detect, does not convict, does not correct."

It is not for humanitarian reasons alone that we must reform our corrections system. It is for our own safety. We have never faced up to the facts that most convicts will some day be released from the hellholes we call correctional institutions. They come out, as we have seen, more bitter, more disturbed, more antisocial, and more skilled in crime than when they went in.

Accordingly, if we are to break the vicious circle of recidivism, we will need to

revolutionize our corrections program.

Twenty-five hundred years ago, the ancient Chinese Philosopher Confucius wrote:

A journey of a thousand miles must begin with a single step.

An important initial step toward improving our detention centers would be the creation of a House Select Committee on Penal Reform. It is my earnest hope that Members of the House will give swift attention to this vitally needed measure and will join with me in calling for the establishment of such a Select Committee.

#### JOINT COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL SECURITY

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. HAMILTON) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, we in Congress worry too much about the role of Congress in foreign affairs, and not enough about its competence. When that competence is achieved, the present imbalance between the executive and legislative branches will be improved, if not corrected.

One important way the competence of the Congress in foreign affairs can be improved is through the creation of a Joint Committee on National Security.

I have introduced legislation, H.R. 10899, to create such a committee. The same legislation has been introduced in the Senate by Senator HUMPHREY.

This joint committee would function in the national security field in a manner comparable to the operation of the Joint Economic Committee in the field of economics. Just as the Joint Economic Committee examines the annual economic report of the President, the Joint Committee on National Security could study and analyze the annual foreign policy messages of the President and the Secretary of State.

The Joint Economic Committee has become a respected forum for examining economic issues, and its recommendations have a substantial impact on the development of economic policy. The joint committee I propose could have the same impact on our national security policy.

Just as the Joint Economic Committee unifies the otherwise fragmented voice of Congress on economic policy, the Joint Committee on National Security would channel congressional opinion on foreign policy. It has been estimated that more than half of the 38 standing committees on Congress are involved in some aspect of our foreign policy. As a result, there is no way of knowing what the Congress thinks about a particular international issue. This joint committee will offer a centralized voice.

Its main responsibilities would be these:

First, to study and make recommendations on all issues concerning national security.

Second, to review, study and evaluate the Pentagon Papers and other documents covering U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Characteristically perhaps, the scholarly Wilson underlined in ink the word "imperatively" and used the spelling "honour."

Those who remember having met Cordell Hull can safely indulge in a reflection on his 100th birthday anniversary that he particularly treasured that Wilson letter.

Still more of a memorial to Hull is the copy of his Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech, in which he declared for all time: "Peace has become as essential to civilized existence as the air we breathe is to life itself."

[From the Nashville Tennessean,  
Sept. 19, 1971]

#### CORDELL HULL PEACE CENTER PLANNED HERE (By Wendell Rawls, Jr.)

Plans will soon be announced for a \$4 million Cordell Hull Center for International Peace, to be constructed near Vanderbilt University for use by all sectors of the Nashville community, it was learned yesterday.

Formal announcement of the plans is tentatively scheduled for Oct. 1, the 100th anniversary of the birth of Cordell Hull, famed secretary of state who devoted his life to world peace and who is credited with fathering the United Nations.

The project is designed to make Nashville an international center by bringing together the financial, business, academic, cultural and religious communities in a common purpose, with a physical facility for common identification.

The center concept was conceived by two Vanderbilt professors, Werner Baer and William O. Thweatt, and two officials of Commerce Union Bank's international banking department, Jerre Haskew, director of the department, and John Mousourakis, head of the department's Latin American and Mediterranean divisions.

More recently, several interested Nashvillians, such as Mrs. John T. McCall and Mrs. Warren Riegle, have joined in efforts to secure community support needed for the foundations of such a venture, Thweatt said. The group envisions a facility which could provide:

Space for international trade shows, with rooms where foreign manufacturers could display wares for businessmen from the central South and other regions.

Space for private groups and foreign governments to arrange cultural exhibits.

Space for seminar rooms and a small auditorium where lecture series could be presented by major political and economic figures.

A library to house all aspects of world trade, including periodicals, trade journals, information on licensing, sales, joint ventures, plant locations, distribution of products and import-export data.

Office space for a customs house broker, a freight forwarding agent and perhaps a foreign exchange branch bank.

Facilities for a resident international law firm.

Lounges and possibly a small international restaurant catering both to students and to visitors.

Facilities for foreign language instruction, including English for foreign students and foreign languages for Nashville residents.

Office space for a physician to serve foreign students and their families.

Administrative headquarters for Cordell Hull scholarships in international affairs. The idea being to provide scholarships and Cordell Hull research professorships with money from endowments, as well as space for other students doing research in international affairs.

Headquarters for a new publication on world problems which would be competitive with the journal "Foreign Affairs," which usually represents the views of the "Eastern establishment" on international relations.

The housing of several international graduate programs presently sponsored by Nashville universities.

Space for guest rooms for visiting professors, businessmen and government officials. "It is our belief that this plan for an International Peace Center in Nashville is both feasible and desirable," Baer said. "With the cooperation of interested community and university groups it can become a reality. Such an undertaking would be in keeping with the dynamic growth-oriented emphasis of Nashville's civic leadership."

"The business community needs to understand what the academic community has to offer and vice-versa," Haskew said. "There are more than 1,000 foreign students in Nashville, ready to exchange ideas on cultures and religions."

The originators of the idea hope to finance the venture with grants from national foundations and corporations, then depend on a "broad base of the local regional business community" for continued support.

The concept had been endorsed by the International Affairs Committee of the Nashville Area Chamber of Commerce and by numerous business leaders and prominent citizens, Haskew said.

"Economically speaking, the idea is particularly appealing when you realize that more than \$600 million worth of goods was shipped out of Tennessee last year," Haskew said. "That is up from about \$470 million five years ago. A like amount probably is imported each year, and both exports and imports create jobs."

"Most of Nashville's major industries engage in international trade and the three major banks are extending credit to finance international trade."

Nashville's churches have commitments all over the world, Thweatt said, and Nashville's universities have numerous programs operating in such countries as France, Germany, Spain, Brazil, Egypt, and Paraguay.

"There is a tremendous amount of international activity in Nashville," Baer said, "but there is nothing in Nashville to bring them together. No other city or university center in the region provides anything like it, either, and Nashville can do it first."

"The feeling of the group was that it was only fitting to name the center after Cordell Hull, a Tennessee native who devoted his life energies to promoting international trade and understanding for world peace," Thweatt said, adding:

"We were delighted when Mrs. Kathleen Hull Ebridge, Hull's niece who cared for him during the final years of his life, enthusiastically endorsed this idea when we recently visited with her in Celina."

"We would like for the center to reflect the international spirit which Cordell Hull tried to promote throughout his lifetime. With sufficient financial support Nashville has the other necessary resources to bring this goal to reality."

#### PROPOSED SELECT COMMITTEE ON PENAL REFORM

The SPEAKER. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. PODELL) is recognized for one hour.

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, the tragic events at Attica Prison earlier this month dramatically illustrate that our so-called corrections system is in urgent need of reform. Today I am introducing for appropriate reference a resolution to create a House Select Committee on Penal Reform that would be authorized to conduct a complete investigation of current conditions at Federal, State, and local penal institutions.

The carnage at Attica highlights the fact that we build and condone a system of despair and degradation in the name of "correction" and "rehabilitation." As horrifying as was the death of 42 civilians and inmates at Attica, it is more alarming to realize that Attica will happen again—perhaps at another place and another time—but it will happen again. It will happen again unless the American people face the fact that a major overhaul of our prison system is the only way to overcome its failure.

It is all too clear that for most offenders the term "correctional facility" is a gruesome euphemism. Prisons in the United States are usually little more than universities of crime, "graduating" growing legions of bitter and hateful individuals who have spent their time in jail polishing and refining their criminal techniques and who emerge from behind the concrete walls more motivated to commit crime than they were when they entered.

Two-thirds of the 200,000 inmates currently incarcerated in our Federal and State prisons are "alumni" of other institutions. Most startling, 80 percent of all felonies are committed by repeaters, those who have had prior contact with the criminal justice system. Indeed, according to the FBI's most recent Uniform Crime Reports, nearly 70 percent of all crimes committed in this country last year were committed by people with previous convictions. Moreover, of the 100,000 persons released from confinement each year and returned to society, 75 percent again commit serious crimes and return to confinement.

The principal reason for this extraordinarily high rate of recidivism—repetition of crime by individuals—is that penitentiaries in the United States are usually little more than warehouses of human degradation, stripping prisoners of their dignity, providing few useful skills that will enable convicts to find gainful employment in the outside world and offering woefully inadequate psychiatric and educational programs and facilities.

Richard W. Velde, Associate Administrator of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of the Department of Justice, recently gave a chilling description of the American prison system:

Jails are festering sores in the criminal justice system. There are no model jails anywhere; we know we tried to find them. Almost nowhere are there rehabilitative programs operated in conjunction with jails . . . The result is what you would expect, only worse. Jails are, without question, brutal, filthy cesspools of crime—institutions which serve to brutalize and embitter men, to prevent them from returning to a useful role in society.

Dr. Karl Menninger, a prominent psychiatrist, stated in his book, "The Crime of Punishment":

I suspect that all the crimes committed by all the jailed criminals do not equal in total social damage that of the crimes committed against them.

It would be difficult to devise a better method of draining the last drop of humanity from an individual than confinement in most prisons as they exist today. Many prisons have large dormitory rooms with 100 beds or more where

Third, to study and make recommendations on Government practices of classifications and declassification of documents.

Fourth, to conduct a continuing review of the operations of the agencies intimately involved with our foreign policy, including the CIA and the Departments of Defense and State.

The committee's membership of 25 would include the Speaker of the House, the majority and minority leaders of both Houses, the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committees on Appropriations, Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs, Armed Services, and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, plus three members of each House, two from the majority party and one from the minority, chosen by the Speaker and the President of the Senate.

There will be unavoidable problems in working out the relationships between such a new committee and the standing committees, but unless the Congress can overcome its own inadequacies and upgrade its mechanisms for handling national security issues, all hope fades of dealing with the executive branch on an equal basis.

The joint committee, by addressing itself to the broad issues that overlap the jurisdictions of the separate committees, would assist Congress in its participation in the decisionmaking process. It would provide a source of information independent of the executive which is absolutely necessary if the House and Senate are to fulfill their constitutional responsibility of acting as a "check and balance" to the President. Without a competence of its own, the Congress cannot make discriminating judgments between alternative programs and proposals.

It is not enough for the Congress to insist upon its prerogatives if it is not prepared to cope with its responsibilities. A Joint Committee on National Security will help it to cope. It will provide the expertise that is needed if Congress is to act more as a partner and less as an adversary in the development of national security policy. It can offer a mechanism to assure adequate consultation, rather than frequent confrontation, between the President and the legislature in the formulation of this policy.

#### HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS SUB-COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS MEMORIALIZED

**THE SPEAKER.** Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. FRASER) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I have received from the executive secretary of the Third Mariana Islands District Legislature a copy of that body's resolution No. 21-1971.

This resolution, expressing "sincere gratitude and appreciation" for our Foreign Affairs Subcommittee's work on the Micronesian Claims Act of 1971, mentions me as the chairman of the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements. But it also ex-

presses appreciation for the role played by the other members of the subcommittee and I would like to add my voice to this expression of gratitude.

In addition, the House as a whole should be commended for the dispatch with which this long-delayed matter was acted upon in the 92d Congress.

The resolution follows:

#### RESOLUTION NO. 21-1971 OF THE THIRD MARIANA ISLANDS DISTRICT LEGISLATURE, SIXTH REGULAR SESSION

A resolution relative to expressing sincere gratitude and appreciation to Honorable Donald M. Fraser and members of the House Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the House Foreign Affairs Committee for the favorable support of the "Micronesian Claims Act of 1971."

Whereas, by virtue of the speedy action by the House Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, the "Micronesian Claims Act of 1971" passed the Congress of the United States in record time; and

Whereas, the signing of Public Law 92-39 by President Nixon on July 11, 1971, will at long last set into motion the machinery to begin resolving a problem that has existed for too long; and

Whereas, a great deal of work by many people has gone into the introduction and passage of the "Micronesian Claims Act of 1971," and we on behalf of the people of the Mariana Islands District, wish to express our sincere gratitude and appreciation to the members of the House Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the House Foreign Affairs Committee for their very valuable assistance and speedy action;

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the 3rd. Mariana Islands District Legislature that its sincere gratitude and appreciation be and is hereby expressed to Honorable Donald M. Fraser and members of the House Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the House Foreign Affairs Committee for their favorable support of the "Micronesian Claims Act of 1971".

Be it further resolved that the President certify to and the Legislative Secretary attest the adoption hereof and thereafter transmit copies of the same to the members of the House Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Passed by the 3rd. Mariana Islands District Legislature, August 18, 1971.

VICENTE N. SANTOS,  
President.

DANIEL T. MUNA,  
Legislative Secretary.

#### TRYING TO KEEP UP WITH SECRETARY MORTON'S FLIP-FLOPPING

**THE SPEAKER.** Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. ASPIN) is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, we are all aware of the difficulties in keeping up with fast breaking events and keeping our public statements timely and relevant. That is never an easy task.

We are also aware that public officials, including Congressmen, occasionally change their positions on issues. This is certainly a public official's privilege and, probably, there ought to be more instances of such changes.

Just yesterday, however, my staff and I were victims of a switch of opinion by a public official, which to us was exas-

perating and went well beyond the bounds of openmindedness which the public has a right to expect from its officials.

On Monday morning, an article appeared on the front page of the Washington Post with the headline: "Alaska Oil May Flow Via Canada." That article quoted an interview with Secretary of Interior Rogers C. B. Morton which appears in the current issue of U.S. News & World Report. According to the AP story, the Secretary had "hinted strongly yesterday—Sunday—that all oil from Alaska's North Slope may ultimately go to market through Canada." The article also said that Morton "implied that it may be months before the decision" on whether the proposed Alaska pipeline would be built, is made.

Since I have been concerned with the Alaska oil issue, immediately after seeing the AP report in the Post, I prepared a statement praising Mr. Morton for his latest statements, which appeared to represent a significant shift in the Interior Department's position on the Alaska pipeline.

In that statement, I said that the Secretary's most recent statements "could have required considerable courage." I also said that Mr. Morton's statements could either be viewed as a very significant switch in Interior's approach to studying the Canadian alternative—

Or it could also be viewed as the latest in a series of flip-flops Secretary Morton has gone through on whether the Interior Department will independently and thoroughly study a Canadian pipeline alternative. At the very least, the latest flip is on the right side, but I am hopeful that the Secretary's comments mean a lot more than that—

I said in my undelivered statement.

Unfortunately, before I could praise Mr. Morton for his latest flip, he had already flopped again. That afternoon, another AP report which appeared in the Washington Star under the headline: "Changes Clear Way for Alaska Pipeline," stated in its lead that—

"The Interior Department may be able to make a favorable environmental report on the trans-Alaska pipeline because of changes agreed to by the proposed builders," Interior Secretary Rogers Morton said.

My news release praising Mr. Morton for his original statements as reported in the Post that morning, was in the process of being stapled by my staff for distribution. It had to be stopped, of course.

In following the Alaska pipeline issue since last January, I thought I had become accustomed to Mr. Morton's inconsistent and contradictory statements, of which there have been several. Nonetheless, I was still unprepared for this latest and most glaring inconsistency in a long line of glaring, inconsistent statements. Indeed, Secretary Morton's complete reversal in such a short span of time was a remarkable achievement, even for him. To use an analogy that should be understandable to all members of this Administration: Mr. Morton managed to lose 6 yards on a play on which he seemed to be falling forward for a first down. I can only hope that Mr. Morton's time record in overruling himself had no

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relation to the fact that both he and the President were in Alaska at the time the original AP story was published.

This is not the first time that Mr. Morton has flipped or flopped on the question of whether and how a Canadian pipeline alternative would be studied. Back in May, the Interior Secretary first said that Interior would undertake a comprehensive and independent study of the Canadian alternative. But, later he said that this would not be done. Instead, he said that he would ask the oil companies to talk with the Canadian government.

Once again, it appears clear that whatever studies are being done on the Canadian pipeline, the decision to go ahead with the approval of the Alaska route has essentially been made, which is what virtually everyone—both the oil companies and the Alaska pipeline's opponents—has believed all along.

The glimmer of hope that the decision on whether to construct the trans-Alaska pipeline had not been made in fact, as well as in theory, was quashed by Mr. Morton's reversal of himself—even before we could acknowledge that glimmer. Ever optimistic though, I have sent the following letter to Mr. Morton asking him to clarify his contradictory statements and to further detail how Interior intends to study the Canadian pipeline alternative. I send this letter to the Secretary with some trepidation, however, because I fear that his response, rather than clarifying things, will only serve to confuse them even more. Politics, however, is a risky business.

The letter to Secretary Morton follows:

SEPTEMBER 27, 1971.

Mr. ROGERS C. B. MORTON,  
Secretary of the Interior,  
Interior Department, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I was greatly confused by the apparent inconsistencies in the September 27 articles "Alaska Oil May Flow Via Canada" in the Washington Post and "Changes Clear Way for Alaska Pipeline" in the Washington Star. Some clarification on your part, especially concerning the study of a Canadian pipeline alternative would, I believe, be quite helpful.

First, do you plan to wait for research to be completed on the Mackenzie Valley pipeline before any decision is made on the Alaska pipeline? As I understand it, the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Limited expects to have completed its research by the end of this year. Will the Interior Department evaluate the results of its research and, if so, how will that evaluation be done? Will the Interior Department independently evaluate the ecological aspects of the Canadian pipeline or will it rely primarily or wholly on the studies of the Mackenzie Valley Company and the recent Arco comparison of the Canadian and Alaskan pipelines?

Second, how do you plan to have the economics of the Canadian pipeline studied? Will an independent study be done? Specifically, how will the economics of the Canadian pipeline in relation to the Alaskan pipeline be studied and evaluated?

Third, will the Interior Department, the State Department, or both together, enter into negotiations with the Canadian government concerning the construction and operation of a Canadian pipeline? If so, approximately when do you expect these negotiations to take place?

I do not, of course, expect completely definitive answers to these questions at this

time. However, I feel that some further details on how the Interior Department intends to proceed in the studying of a Canadian pipeline alternative would help greatly to clarify to the public and to Congress the Administration's approach to the whole Alaska oil issue.

Thank you very much for your attention. I look forward to hearing from you in the near future.

Sincerely,

LES ASPIN,  
Member of Congress.

#### 'THE ADMINISTRATION'S MINORITY BANK DEPOSIT' PROGRAM IS A DISAPPOINTMENT

**THE SPEAKER.** Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. REUSS) is recognized for 20 minutes.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, last October 2—a year ago—the Departments of Treasury and Commerce and the Office of Management and Budget announced a 1-year program to increase deposits in minority-owned banks by the very modest amount of \$100 million. The Department of the Treasury was to raise \$35 million in deposits from Federal agencies. The Department of Commerce was to be responsible for an increase of \$65 million in deposits from private sector groups such as labor unions, foundations, and corporations.

October 1 is approaching. Yet in terms of actual deposits, the minority bank deposit program is only a little more than half way toward its goal of \$100 million for the Nation's 36 minority-owned banks. This short-fall in performance is disappointing. It is particularly disappointing on the part of the Treasury, which is only some \$22 million toward its quota of \$35 million.

If the administration—from the President down—had really gotten behind this program, the goal of \$100 million could have been reached in less than a year. Instead, the program was allowed to drift for many months. As a result, only \$5 to \$7 million in Government deposits and \$20 to \$25 million from the private sector had been realized by mid-summer this year, according to estimates of Dr. Edward Irons who until recently was executive director of the National Bankers Association.

Belatedly, and under public prodding by minority bank officials, the administration is now trying to make up for months of inaction. The Office of Minority Business Enterprises—OMB— in the Department of Commerce currently estimates the increase in deposits under the program at some \$55 million. By October 10, OMB hopes to report \$100 million in commitments. However, it estimates only \$56 million in actual deposits by that date. Under the most optimistic assumptions, the Treasury will still be some \$10 million short of its \$35 million deposit quota.

I would be inclined to say "better late than never" if the administration, and particularly the Treasury, acting vigorously on other fronts to aid minority banks and otherwise to encourage socially useful bank lending.

But here also, the record is disappointing. The Treasury, for example, despite

prodding by 15 Democratic members of the House Banking and Currency Committee, stubbornly refuses to consider managing its \$5 to \$10 billion in tax and loan balances so that commercial banks benefiting from these interest-free balances will be induced to increase their lending in support of minority business, low and moderate income housing, student loans, and other public-interest enterprises.

The administration's minority bank deposit program has been a timid step in the right direction. Full performance on the promises of this program is overdue. Even more overdue is Treasury leadership to marshal the resources of the private banking community on the scale required to bring real relief to the capital-starved social programs and impoverished areas of this country.

#### FREE CHINA'S OPPORTUNITY

**THE SPEAKER.** Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. FLOOD) is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, current developments in the United Nations concerning the so-called China issue are being watched very closely by our citizens and officials alike. By all poll indicators, our citizenry fully supports official policy in retaining the fine representation of the Republic of China in the United Nations. On record, the Republic of China has observed its obligations in the U.N. scrupulously and with exemplary dedication. There can be no doubt about this. Her own achievements in economic progress, land reform, and economic aid, especially to numerous African states, are the envy of many a government in the free world, not to speak of most in the Red Empire.

A most interesting and striking article on this issue has been written by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University and also president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee. Titled "Free China's Opportunity," the article appears in the autumn issue of the Ukrainian Quarterly, a world-renowned periodical on Eurasian affairs which is frequently referred to by institutes both in the free world and the Red empire.

The article appears at a most opportune moment in showing the legal bases for the Republic of China's retention in the U.N. It also stresses the absurdity of paralleling the China issue with the Byelorussian and Ukrainian representation in the U.N., albeit it of puppet character.

At this moment I strongly recommend the article to the studied reading of our Members and our interested citizens:

#### FREE CHINA'S OPPORTUNITY

(By Lev E. Dobriansky)

President Nixon's plan to visit Red China had long been in the making. When the Peking trip of Dr. Henry Kissinger, the President's advisor on national security matters, was revealed, it was undoubtedly a news spectacular. But for those who have these past ten years followed the thinking pressures and literary output dealing with a "Two China" policy, some of which will be referred to here, the news clout of the